about this clan. In order to understand why, I will first give one of the more complete listings of the lineages within the clan:

Kaigu Magurereu Arigao Kocha Kiogo Birigedo Porireu Imorio Bokodori Akiri Bokodori Baru Barogo Bororo	Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge
Barame Chibae Edugo Koge Edugo Koge Ekureu Koiwo Kuri Echerae Etuviye Inokuri	Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge

Inokuri, the last in the list, is considered to be closely related to Kaigu, Magurereu, and Arigao Kocha, the first three of the list. In relation to them, he is their "younger brother while in relation to the other lineages within his own subclan, he is considered their "older brother" and included together with Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu among the "Older Brothers" (Etumanamage) or the "Big" (Kurireuge). On the other hand, the division of Blacks and Reds is based mainly on the presumed colors of the ancestors of each subclan and on the color of feathers and paint used for their ornaments in ceremonies. Inokuri and all his akuge ("clients"), Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge, use red feathers and red paint, while the Bokodori Echerae

614 Chobugiwuge use black feathers and black paint.[1] However,
613 it would be quite improper to call Inokuri Red because, as
822 we have already seen, the Reds are identified with Younger Brothers and Small People, and Inokuri is neither of them.
614 Thus, the Bororo evade the problem by applying to the
613 Bokodori Echerae only the topographical designation, and they talk only about upstream and downstream subclans. One of my informants did use the color division, but, when asked for clarification, he said: "The Bororo do not say in this way, but I do" (Boe ego kare ino, mare imire inagore).

Many variations exist in the denominations of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan. These variations are not arbitrary; they occur as alternative designations in different contexts (see Table XII).

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[1] It will be shown later that the color division is relative. When black and red are opposed, black is the color of the older brother and red that of the younger. When red and yellow are in opposition, red is the color of older brother, and yellow that of the younger.

sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities, participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into subclans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and subclans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In reporting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ancestors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Aroroe have aroro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Aroroe have aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers. The division is not restricted only to animals; many other beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differentiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu

614 (black arrow), butore choreu (black rattle made from peccary
562 hooves), marido imedu (big wheel made of sections of an
822 aquatic plant), and Jakomea imedu (male spirit Jakomea);
827 ancestors of the Red Ivagududoge are tugo kujagureu (red arrow), butore kujagureu (red rattle), marido aredu (female wheel), and Jakomea aredu (female Jakomea). Thus, black or male items are the ancestors of the more important subclan, while red or female items are the ancestors of the less important subclan. Furthermore, in most cases it is possible to substitute black for female[A] and vice versa, and red for female and vice versa. Ki choreu and tugo choreu are with equal frequency called ki imedu and tugo imedu; ki kujagureu and tugo kujagureu are with equal frequency called ki aredu and tugo aredu. Theoretically all the items are divided into black or male and red or female. In practice only the items emphasized as ancestors and represented in ceremonies[1] are so divided.

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[1] It was already mentioned (see page 140) that particular items not only belong to a particular clan but are also its ancestors. Many of these items, especially animals, are represented in dramatic performances that are part of the Bororo funeral ceremonies. Clan members never represent their own ancestors; this is the duty of their yorubodare (alliés). Thus, we should distinguish between the owners of the performance, who decide when the representation of their ancestors is to be performed, and their alliés, who are the actual performers in the ceremonies. The owners are responsible for staging the performance and for seeing to it that each actor is painted, ornamented, and supplied with the paraphernalia special to the animal he represents. The actors, on the other hand, with stylized movements, gestures, and sounds try to imitate the animals they represent.

[794]

[A] [The author apparently means male here--Analyst]

822 796 237 302 614 822 In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. [825] For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Araroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 [796] [825] [827] [614] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

822 Kurireuge, buturoe kugurireuge of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 Okoge (a fish of the Salmonidae family) kurireüge belong to
827 the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge, okoge kugurireuge to the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that
796 clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their yorubodare Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their yorubodare Small subclans. For example, nabure (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Aroroe. Nabure imedu (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; nabure aredu (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrep-
827 ancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners
421 of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir
825 is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by
796

614 are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the
301 Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with suc-
[561] cessive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is another feature which distinguishes subclans.

614 The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long
237 colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow be-
411 longs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow
822 feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger
[561] brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Meriri ika, Pai ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Ariqao ika of the Ivagu-
614 dudoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic
822 of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black
301 and red, the objects painted black belong to the more important subclan, those painted red to the less important one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

614 The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black
822 subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black, red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

614 choreu - kujaqureu or uruqureu - ekureu - kiqadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
[561] or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order. Black is more important than the mixture of black and red, which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
[796] For example: fresh palm leaves are kaworureu (blue or green), dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kiqadureu (white skirt), which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger brothers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental components or by the number of these components. Avoqodori ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the middle two long feathers of kuruqugwa (a kind of hawk). The Avoqodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and yellow feathers and has only one feather of kuruqugwa at its ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

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[561]
[825]

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities <u>are</u> differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[297] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (<u>Boroge rore ino jamedu</u>). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

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561 **Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture**

The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older
[822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

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787 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals.
[183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature,
[764] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

553 Hugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
301 seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
533 songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
534 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
764 a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
881 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
616 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his
571 yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
834 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
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Mature women, when menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spatially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the village to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sisters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire. Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony; sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual affairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least during the night. The continuity of the society must be assured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with ceremonies, or to be proud of.

Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs, ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would require the space of another book. With death a man's passage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate captain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use.

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufacture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied.

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of